

THE COLD WAR

At the end of the Second World War the presence of American forces in Europe was seen as a temporary measure. The United States expected to be able to withdraw its forces at an early date and foresaw no long term commitment within Europe. When the war ended America had rapidly demobilized. From a total of 12 million men worldwide in 1945, American forces were reduced to 3 million by mid-1946 and to one and a half million by mid-1947. The Red Army did not demobilize at war's end.

The development which fundamentally altered American policy in Europe was the collapse of British power. Britain had been financially broken by the war and by early 1947 it had become clear to her leaders that she could not maintain her role as either a great power or as the guardian of the west's European interests.

Crisis in Greece

The centre of the crisis for Britain was Greece. British troops had been in Greece since October 1944 following Churchill's conclusion of the Percentages Agreement with Stalin. The British objective was to secure a non-communist government in Greece. The communist-led National Liberation Front had attempted to seize Athens in December 1944 but had been defeated by British troops. The National Liberation Front renewed its activity after the election of a right-wing government in March 1946 which began to suppress left-wing political organizations.

In 1946 the National Liberation Front began to fight the Greek government in a civil war. It was supplied with weapons by Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. The National Liberation Front very quickly gained control of most of northern Greece with the government forces being secure only in Athens and Salonika. In response to these events Britain sent aid to the Greek government. The Greek communists, however, received no Soviet aid because Stalin was preoccupied with events in central Europe and was concerned that the civil war in Greece would needlessly

antagonize Britain and the United States. The western powers, however, saw the events in Greece as linked to the fate of Italy and the Mediterranean generally. They feared Soviet domination of the region.

Soviet pressure on Turkey

Western concern over Greece was heightened by events in Turkey, where Soviet pressure for the return of disputed territory and the right to naval bases in the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles was mounting. This pressure increased during 1946 and the use of force was threatened. These developments seemed to the western powers to indicate Soviet intention to gain dominance in the Middle East with its crucial oil supplies. Turkey was thus of greater strategic value, but if Greece fell under communist domination, Turkey's position would be hopeless. It would be surrounded by hostile communist countries, allied to the Soviet Union.

Britain had been aiding both the Greek and Turkish governments. However, the economic cost of the Second World War, difficulties in maintaining domestic supplies of vital goods such as coal in the immediate post-war years, coupled with the impact of the winter of 1946-47, the most severe in a hundred years, brought Britain and Europe generally to the brink of economic collapse. Britain informed the United States on 28 February, 1947, that she would have to cease providing aid to Greece and Turkey by the end of March.

The Truman Doctrine

On being informed of the British decision, President Truman took an historic step. The United States would assume the British responsibilities in the Mediterranean and the Middle East and commit itself to providing aid to Greece and Turkey. He spoke before the United States Congress on 12 March, 1947, and asked it to empower him to give immediate military and financial aid to these countries in order to resist communism.

This was a diplomatic revolution for the United States, which had historically been isolationist and had shunned involvement in European affairs. The so-called 'Truman Doctrine' of resisting communist expansionism was eventually developed into a more general policy of containment of communism. The 'containment policy' meant that the United States would take action to contain communism to the Soviet sphere in eastern Europe and would oppose either invasion or internal subversion by communist forces elsewhere in Europe. As the Cold War developed, the 'containment policy' was applied worldwide.

Truman's initiative led to the provision of \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey. This aid was for both civil and military programs. Turkish security was bolstered and aid began to flow into Greece. An American military advisory group was set up in Athens in August 1947; soon after, American military supplies began to arrive. By late 1947, the Greek communists were defeated. Their defeat was caused in part by the withdrawal of support by Yugoslavia which was prompted by strained relations between Tito and Stalin.

Stalin's motives

Stalin's principal motive for his actions in eastern Europe after the war was to establish the future security of the Soviet Union and to protect its system of government. Russia had been attacked from the west in 1914 and again in 1941, and

Stalin was determined that it not happen again. Thus he sought to establish a buffer zone of 'friendly' states between the Soviet Union and western Europe and to prevent Germany from re-establishing her power and threatening Soviet security in the future.

Russian geography dictated Stalin's policies, and he was motivated by Russia's national interest rather than political ideology. He was determined to control eastern Europe, even at the cost of risking war with the western powers. However, those areas outside the buffer zone, Greece and Turkey for example, were not vital to Soviet interests and Stalin was prepared to sacrifice them if seeking to control them put at risk the Soviet position in eastern Europe.

Tito breaks with Stalin

Yugoslavia lay beyond Stalin's immediate concern. Its geographical position did not place it within the Soviet buffer zone Stalin sought to create. Communism had been established in Yugoslavia not as a result of conquest by the Red Army but because of the wartime leadership of Josip Tito. Tito was not Stalin's man and Yugoslavia was not a Soviet satellite. Stalin and Tito fell out when Tito insisted on his freedom of action. The two severed relations on 28 June, 1948. However, the Soviets did not intervene in Yugoslavia as they did in their east European satellites, and Tito survived to guide his nation along its own path, independently of the Soviet Union.



President Truman (left) and Secretary of State, George Marshall (shaking hands). The Marshall Plan attempted to re-establish war torn Western Europe.

The Marshall Plan

The Americans came to realise that the greatest aid to the communist movement in Europe was the economic ruination which had resulted from the war. Poverty was widespread. Both France and Italy faced the possibility of famine by 1947. Thus, America decided to give financial aid to Europe on a massive scale in order that its shattered economies might be re-built and the appeal of communism lessened.

In a speech at Harvard University on 5 June, 1947, General George C. Marshall, the United States Secretary of State, announced an aid program for Europe. It became known as the 'Marshall Plan'. Within a year the Organization for European Recovery had been established with 16 member nations. Over a four-year period from 1948, \$22 400 million worth of American aid was provided for European recovery. Both the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe were offered Marshall Plan aid but the offer was refused on Stalin's directive.

Soviet response

Several of the Soviet Union's client states in eastern Europe were eager to accept the American offer of Marshall Plan aid. The Soviets realised that the Marshall Plan was designed to diminish the influence of communists in western Europe and recognized that it could undermine their position in eastern Europe. Not only did Stalin forbid the east Europeans from accepting American aid, he moved to secure the Russian position by eliminating all remnants of opposition to Soviet control which still remained. Thus, during 1947 and 1948, the political structure of the states of eastern Europe was altered along Soviet lines, and non-communist organizations were crushed and their leaders liquidated.

The Treaty of Brussels

As tension between the Americans and Russians increased and the division of Europe began to take on permanency, the states of western Europe responded with the formation of their own security pact. In March 1948, Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg signed a collective security treaty in Brussels. This treaty, the Treaty of Brussels, provided for a common military response in the event of armed aggression in Europe. During 1948 conscription was reintroduced in America, whilst Britain, France and America began rearmament programs.

Developments in Germany

In order to begin the process of unifying the four occupation zones in Germany and to help promote an economic recovery, the United States and Britain merged their zones in January 1947. France merged its zone with the others during 1948.

A western priority was to quell inflation and stimulate economic recovery within Germany. Thus they proposed to the Russians that a currency reform should be implemented. However, the two sides could not reach agreement about the methods of introducing a new currency and as a result the western powers decided to act independently of the Russians.

The Russians were opposed to the re-establishment of German prosperity, preferring to keep their former enemy economically weak. To show their disapproval of western policy the Russians walked out of the Allied Control Council on 20 March, 1948.

The Berlin Blockade

The Russian response to the west's proposals for currency reform was to try to drive the western powers out of Berlin which lay 180 kilometres inside the Soviet zone. On 30 March, 1948, the Russians began to obstruct traffic crossing the Soviet zone into Berlin. On 20 June the currency reform was introduced. On 24 June the Russians blocked all road, rail and canal access to Berlin. Berlin was blockaded. Furthermore all electricity to West Berlin supplied from the Soviet zone was cut off. Two and a half million people in the western zones of Berlin were denied essential supplies of food and fuel. This was virtually an act of war.

The Berlin Airlift

In response to the blockade of Berlin, the British favoured crossing the Soviet zone by force. However, the Americans, recognizing that the Russians had a huge advantage in armed force (at least in conventional weapons), sought a less provocative response. The answer to the blockade was an airlift of supplies into Berlin.

Late in June, hundreds of British and United States aircraft began to fly supplies into Berlin. Aircraft flew from Hamburg, Hanover and Frankfurt along air corridors across the Soviet zone to airports in the western zones of Berlin. In all, the allies airlifted 2.3 million tonnes of supplies into Berlin during the blockade. Stalin was unable to halt the airlift, short of provoking war, and it became clear that the western powers could not be forced out of Berlin. On 12 May, 1949, after ten and a half months, the blockade was lifted.

The division of Germany

As a result of the disagreement over currency reform and the confrontation over Berlin, all hope of re-unifying Germany vanished. Both Germany and Berlin became permanently divided into eastern and western zones.

In May 1949 the western zones of Germany became the German Federal Republic and Bonn became its capital. Also in May the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic. Neither side recognized the German state created by the other. Because of its division no general peace treaty was ever signed with Germany.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.)

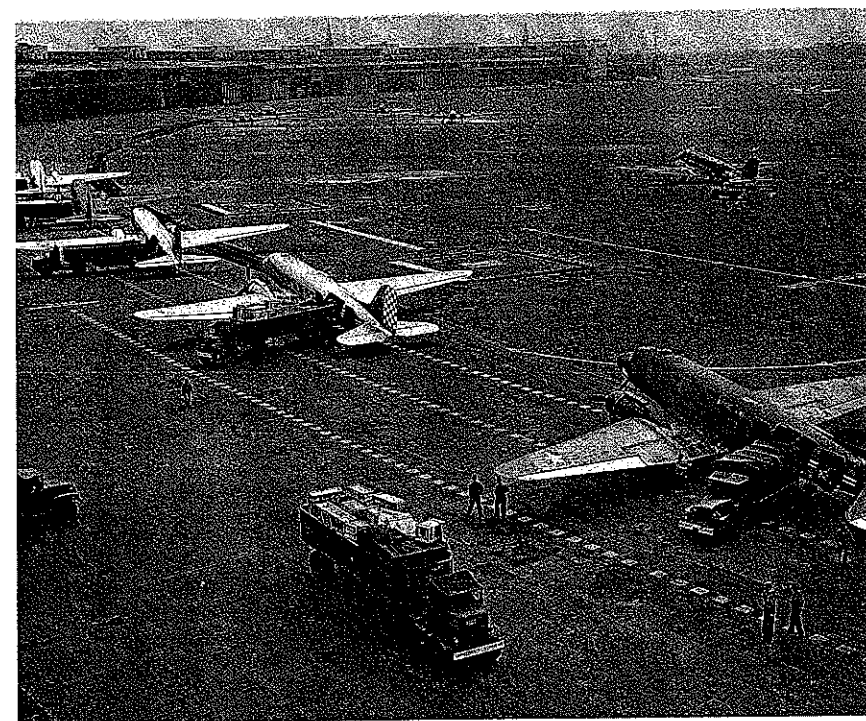
The threat of war with Russia during the Berlin blockade had convinced the western allies that an alliance was needed to resist Soviet aggression in Europe. Thus, on 4 April, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.) was established, bringing both the Americans and Canadians into alliance with ten European nations (Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Iceland, Denmark and Norway). In 1952 Greece and Turkey joined N.A.T.O., as did West Germany in 1954.

Soviet policy in eastern Europe

After 1949 Soviet control of eastern Europe was total, and the Russians followed a policy of ruthless exploitation of their new satellite states. This exploitation, coupled with political suppression, was to lead to revolts in the satellite states during the 1950s.

Between 1949 and Stalin's death in 1953, the Soviet Union ruled eastern Europe with terror and suppressed all opposition to the new communist regimes. Soviet-controlled secret police conducted political purges throughout eastern Europe and executed or deported to forced labour camps those who opposed the new order. This political suppression was accompanied by economic exploitation. Food and manufactured goods were seized by the Russians and sent to the Soviet Union as war reparations. Food shortages and a sharp decline in the standard of living was the result. In the 1950s, collectivization of agriculture, such as that which had occurred in the Soviet Union, was implemented in eastern Europe and the peasants were forced to join collective farms.

The extent to which the sovereignty of the states of eastern Europe was violated by the Russians during this period is demonstrated by the fact that in 1949 a Russian Army Marshal was appointed as Poland's Defence Minister, whilst in Hungary all school students were made to study Russian. This was not simply the imposition of communism in the eastern European States, but their Russification.



American Army transport planes on the tarmac at Tempelhof airfield. At the height of the blockade, at Tempelhof alone, a plane landed every three minutes and discharged its cargo in just under four minutes. In this way Berlin was able to beat the blockade of its other main food supply routes.

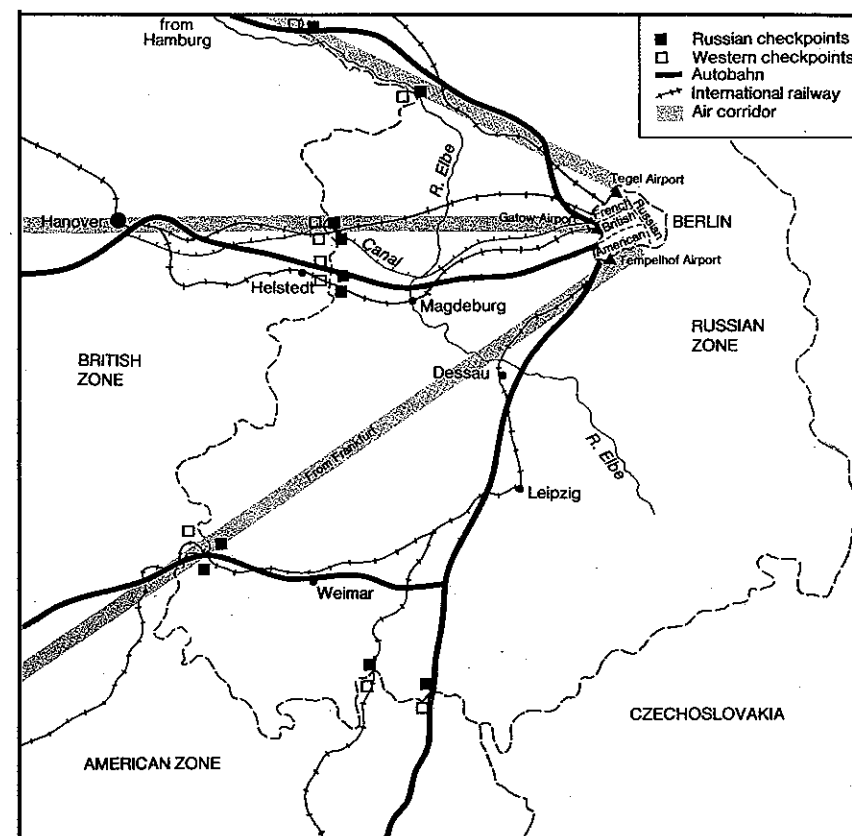
The nuclear arms race

The United States had disarmed at the end of the Second World War; the Soviet Union had not. Russia possessed overwhelming military strength in Europe, but was unable to use this power to extend its influence over the states of western Europe because of the American monopoly of nuclear weapons. Between 1945 and 1949 the United States was the only power which possessed the atomic bomb and that fact offset Soviet superiority in conventional weapons. However, this American monopoly ended in 1949 when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb. In response to this development President Truman announced that America would construct a super bomb, the hydrogen bomb. The first hydrogen bomb was exploded by the United States on 1 November, 1952 on the Pacific atoll of Eniwetok. Eniwetok was evaporated by the blast. This new American lead in weapons technology lasted only ten months. On 20 August, 1953, the Soviet Union exploded its own hydrogen bomb. Henceforth, the Cold War was conducted under the threat of global thermo-nuclear war.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1 Which development fundamentally altered American policy in Europe at the end of the Second World War?
- 2 Name the communist-led organization which fought the Greek government during the Greek civil war.
- 3 Explain why Stalin did not send aid to the Greek communists during the Greek civil war.
- 4 How was Turkey of greater strategic value than Greece to the west?
- 5 What did the 'containment policy' mean?
- 6 What motivated Stalin's actions in eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War?
- 7 Why did Tito sever relations with Stalin in 1948?
- 8 Why did America decide to give financial aid to Europe in 1947?
- 9 How did the Soviet Union respond to the Marshall Plan?
- 10 In what way did the Soviet Union respond to the west's proposal for currency reform in Germany?
- 11 By what method did the western powers overcome the Berlin blockade?
- 12 Name the state created out of the western zones of Germany in 1949. Name the state created out of the Soviet zone.
- 13 List the nations which formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O.) in 1949.
- 14 How did the Soviet Union treat the states of eastern Europe between 1949 and 1953?
- 15 In which year did the Soviet Union explode its first atomic bomb?

MAP QUESTIONS



Map 31 The Berlin Airlift: 1948-49

- 1 From which German cities were supplies flown into Berlin?
- 2 List the three airports in Berlin to which aircraft carrying supplies flew.
- 3 In which sectors of Berlin were these airports located?
- 4 From which two zones of occupation was the airlift flown?
- 5 Over which zone of occupation did the aircraft flying into Berlin pass?

INVESTIGATING HISTORY

Documents One and Two: 'The situation in Greece and Turkey'

The Truman Doctrine of resisting Soviet expansionism and aiding Greece and Turkey was announced on March 15, 1947. The Doctrine was a response to the deteriorating situation in those countries and the inability of Britain to assist them further.

In March and April 1947 the American Ambassadors to Greece and Turkey were recalled to Washington. Their task was to brief the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate on the situation in each country and explain the need for American commitment. These briefings were secret and only made public in 1973. The following documents are excerpts from the briefings given by Lincoln MacVeagh, the Ambassador to Greece, and Edwin C. Wilson, the Ambassador to Turkey.

Read the documents and answer the questions which follow.

Ambassador MacVeagh: At the present moment, the situation in Greece is exceedingly grave and critical, actually critical. Any delay, if we are going to do anything about it, is very dangerous if we are going to avoid a total collapse of the country, both economically and socially, which will bring the country into the satellite orbit of the Russian Empire. The situation has been growing for a long time until it has got to a point where there seems to be very little chance of doing anything about it unless somebody from the outside takes a hand . . .

The European situation has changed. Greece has become a part of a larger area in Europe which is involved in social strains and stresses. Since the Communist Revolution in Russia, Russia has become the only great power on the European Continent.

Ambassador Wilson: Mr. Chairman, in the nearly 2 years that I have been in Turkey I have come to the conviction that the maintenance of an independent position by Turkey is a question of vital interest to our own country, and I will tell you why I think so.

Great Britain has no possibility any more of forming the old coalitions against the dominant European power. Russia's influence is getting stronger and stronger, and she has, owing to the fact that during the World War the Russians liberated the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula and the British liberated the tip end of the peninsula in Greece, there has come about a frontier between the Western World and the expanding eastern Communist-dominated world along the frontiers of Greece, where you have a situation like oil and water, where they do not mix.

That creates these strains and stresses in Greece which have greatly increased the power of the Communist Party within Greece itself, which has become today a very powerful fifth column movement.

Turkey is the only independent country on the borders of the Soviet Union from the Baltic to the Black Sea. If Turkey should be allowed to fall under Soviet domination, either through breaking down the regime through outside pressure or through an act of overt aggression against the country,

you then have the Soviet borders running through Syria to Iraq and coming well along the western frontiers of Iran. You have the Soviet Union then in a position where it seems to me it would be more than you could ask human nature, certainly Soviet human nature, to resist the temptation to push on. There is nothing between them,

then, and the Persian Gulf, Suez Canal, on out to the East — Afghanistan, India, and China.

So for that reason it seems to me that it is vitally important from our point of view to give assistance to the Turks to maintain their independent position there.

Look at the first document.

- 1 What does Ambassador MacVeagh warn will happen to Greece if 'a total collapse of the country' occurs?
- 2 Which nation does Ambassador MacVeagh identify as the 'only great power on the European continent'?
- 3 How does Ambassador MacVeagh describe the Communist Party within Greece?

Look at the second document.

- 4 In what two ways does Ambassador Wilson suggest Turkey could 'fall under Soviet domination'?
- 5 Which areas of the world does Ambassador Wilson identify as being endangered should Turkey fall under Soviet domination?

Briefly

Explain how Greece and Turkey were threatened by communism in 1947.

Document Three: The Truman Doctrine

On 12 March, 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of the United States Congress and declared that the United States would provide \$400 million, as well as advisers, to assist Greece and Turkey to rebuild their shattered economies and ward off the threat of communism. This American involvement in Europe to resist Soviet expansionism was a diplomatic revolution and became known as the Truman Doctrine.

Document Three is part of President Truman's address to Congress.

Read the document and answer the questions which follow.

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance . . .

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery ...

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries ... The Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore authority to the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply this assistance ...

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece...

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East ...

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures...

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

- 1 What did Truman tell Congress the United States had received from the Greek Government?
- 2 What did the President declare threatened the very existence of the Greek state?
- 3 Why did the President believe it essential to maintain Turkey's national integrity?
- 4 List the two alternative ways of life the President declared 'nearly every nation must choose between'?
- 5 What did President Truman state 'it must be the policy of the United States' to do?

Briefly

Explain why the United States adopted the Truman Doctrine in 1947. How successful was the Truman Doctrine?

Document Four: 'Millions of people in the cities are slowly starving'

The United States announced economic aid to war-ravaged Europe in June 1947. This policy was prompted by reports such as that by the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, William L. Clayton. Clayton visited Europe early in 1947 and on his return to Washington wrote a memorandum in which he warned that conditions in Europe were deteriorating and unless something was done 'there will be a revolution'. What follows are excerpts from Clayton's memorandum dated 27 May, 1947.

Read the document and answer the questions which follow.

1. It is now obvious that we grossly underestimated the destruction to the European economy by the war. We understood the physical destruction, but we failed to take fully into account the effects of economic dislocation on production — nationalization of industries, drastic land reform, severance of long-standing commercial ties, disappearance of private commercial firms through death or loss of capital, etc., etc.

2. Europe is steadily deteriorating. The political position reflects the economic. One political crisis after another merely denotes the existence of grave economic distress. Millions of people in the cities are slowly starving ...

3. Europe's current annual balance of payments deficit:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| UK | \$2¼ billions |
| France | 1¾ " |
| Italy | ½ " |
| US-UK Zone Germany .. | ½ " |
| | \$5 billions |

not to mention the smaller countries.

The above represents an absolute minimum standard of living. If it should be lowered, there will be revolution.

Only until the end of this year can England and France meet the above deficits out of their fast dwindling reserves of gold and dollars. Italy can't go that long.

5. Without further prompt and substantial aid from the United States, economic, social and political disintegration will overwhelm Europe.

Aside from the awful implications which this would have for the future peace and security of the world, the immediate effects on our domestic economy would be disastrous: markets for our surplus production gone, unemployment, depression, a heavily

unbalanced budget on the background of a mountainous war debt.

These things must not happen.

7. It will be necessary for the President and the Secretary of State to make a strong spiritual appeal to the American people to sacrifice a little themselves, to draw in their own belts just a little in order to save Europe from starvation and chaos (*not* from the Russians).

- 1 What did Under Secretary Clayton report was grossly underestimated by the Americans?
- 2 Under what circumstances did Clayton believe there would be revolution?
- 3 'Without further prompt and substantial aid from the United States', what did Clayton warn would happen?
- 4 In Clayton's view, what would be the effect of collapse in Europe on the domestic economy of the United States?
- 5 What did Clayton advise the President and the Secretary of State to appeal for?

Briefly

What were the conditions in Western Europe in 1947 which caused the United States government to fear that revolution and a communist takeover could occur?

Document Five: The Marshall Plan

The United States Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, made a speech at Harvard University on 5 June, 1947, in which he announced that the United States would provide economic aid to war-ravaged Europe. This policy became known as the Marshall Plan. What follows is part of Marshall's speech.

Read the document and answer the questions which follow.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European eco-

nomy. For the past 10 years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete ... Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and

shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete ...

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious ... The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing ... Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction ...

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years

of foreign food and other essential products — principally from America — are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character ...

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

- 1 List three ways in which the 'entire fabric of European economy' had been dislocated.
- 2 Why was there a shortage of food in the cities?
- 3 What process had exhausted the 'funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction'?
- 4 What problems of 'a very grave character' did Marshall declare Europe would face without substantial additional help from America?
- 5 What did Marshall declare United States policy was directed against?

Briefly

What was the Marshall Plan? How did the Marshall Plan assist the nations of Western Europe to rebuild their economies after the Second World War?

The Cartoonist's view: 'Come on Sam! It's up to us again'

In October 1947 *Punch* magazine published this cartoon as a comment on the Marshall Plan.

Study the cartoon and answer the questions which follow.



Neighbours
'Come on Sam! It's up to us again.'

- 1 Whose house is in a state of near collapse?
- 2 What prop has already proved inadequate to hold up the collapsing house?
- 3 What is the figure labelled 'Marshall' encouraging Uncle Sam to use to prop up the house?

Briefly

What was the American policy in Europe after the Second World War?

The Cartoonist's view: 'Noses left!'

In July 1947 David Low drew this cartoon as a comment on the fact that the communist nations of eastern Europe would not accept Marshall Plan aid.

Study the cartoon and answer the questions which follow.



Noses Left!

- 1 List three of the countries represented by the school girls. Name the country represented by the teacher ordering 'Noses left!'.
- 2 Who owns the hot dog stand to which the school girls are attracted?
- 3 What do the odours coming from the hot dog stand represent?

Briefly

How did the Soviet Union respond to the Marshall Plan?

Document Six: 'This most magnificent use of air power in modern history'

The Berlin blockade was one of the most dramatic incidents of the Cold War. The document which follows is an account of the blockade given by Dr Konrad Adenauer, West Germany's first post-war Chancellor, in his book *Memoirs, 1945-1953*.

Read the document and answer the questions which follow.

At the end of March, 1948, giving the most various reasons for their action, the Soviets cut off one land connection after the other. On 30 March 1948 the Soviets demanded the right to check the troop trains of the Western Allies. The Western Powers rejected this demand. When the obstacles increased, the United States and Great Britain began, on 10 April 1948, to build up the so-called *little air lift* for their personnel. The currency reform in the Western zones came into force on 20 June 1948. On 18 June 1948 rail traffic was stopped, on 24 June 1948 rail traffic ceased on the last open route from Berlin to Helmstedt, and on 30 June 1948 the Russians stopped traffic to Berlin on the waterways. Simultaneously all supplies from the Soviet zone and Soviet sector to the Western sectors of Berlin were cut off.

... The blockade of Berlin began on 24 June 1948. The Soviets tried to force the

Western Powers and West Berliners to give in by blocking all access by land and water. They evidently wanted to starve Berlin into their own sphere of power and thereby to remove the Western Allies.

The Western response to this challenge was the airlift to supply Berlin. This most magnificent use of air power in modern history began on 25 June 1948 and it succeeded in preserving the liberty of the people of West Berlin. During the period from 25 June 1948 to the end of the blockade in May 1949, about one and a half million tons of goods of all kinds, such as food, coal, raw materials, and medical supplies, were flown into Berlin by the Western Powers.

The attitude of the West Berliners which had already been brave and courageous under the earlier pressures, instead of softening, grew harder. In those months of the greatest psychological and economic pressures it was truly admirable.

- 1 When did the Soviets begin to 'cut off one land connection after the other'?
- 2 What does Adenauer say the Soviets evidently wanted to do by blockading Berlin?
- 3 During which period did the blockade occur?
- 4 What kind of supplies were flown into Berlin?
- 5 What effect did the blockade have on the attitude of Berliners?

The Cartoonist's view: 'The American voting machine'

This Russian cartoon entitled 'The American voting machine; New Discoveries in Mechanisation' was published in the late 1940s and is a comment on the support the United States enjoyed in the United Nations at that time. The figure in the foreground is pressing a button labelled 'Against' while the place names on the front row read Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium, France and the United Kingdom.

Study the cartoon and answer the questions which follow.



The American voting machine

- 1 Which nation is controlling the voting by pressing the button 'Against'?
- 2 Look at the faces of the men with moustaches. Whom do these men resemble? What is the significance of the way the men are holding their arms?
- 3 Which nation do you suppose these men are voting against in the United Nations?

Briefly

Give an account of the policies pursued by the Soviet Union in her east European satellites between 1949 and 1953.

The Cartoonist's view: 'On a dangerous swimming expedition'

This cartoon, entitled 'On a dangerous swimming expedition' was published in 1949 and is a Russian comment on the formation of N.A.T.O. The cartoon was subtitled 'On the Surface — and Down Below'. The flag reads 'North Atlantic Pact — doubly peaceful and purely defensive' while the words on the torpedo read 'Aggression Pact'.

Study the cartoon and answer the questions which follow.



'On a dangerous swimming expedition'

- 1 How does this cartoon portray N.A.T.O.?
- 2 What is spiked on the top of the flag?
- 3 Why is the swimming expedition dangerous?

Briefly

Why was N.A.T.O. founded in 1949? List the nations which joined N.A.T.O. between 1949 and 1954.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Revision Essay

How did the Cold War intensify between 1947 and 1953?

Research Essay

How did tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union affect international relations between 1947 and 1953?